

THE ACCULTURATION MATRIX AND THE POLITICS OF DIFFERENCE: WOMEN AND DENE GAMES¹

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Abstract / Résumé

In this paper, Berry's (2001) framework of acculturation strategies in ethnocultural groups and Young's (1992) politics of difference are used to explore tensions involved in attempts at difference in the largely hegemonic, ethnocentric context provided by sport in Canada. While assimilation, separation, and marginalization have been the predominant methods through which Aboriginal sport has been acculturated into Canadian society, integration has been under-utilized. However, research conducted at the Dene Games component of the 2004 Arctic Winter Games brings into question the possibility of a form of integration that is able to meet the needs of participants, organizers, and spectators alike.

Dans le présent article, l'auteure a recours au cadre des stratégies d'acculturation dans les groupes ethnoculturels mis de l'avant par Berry (2001) et à la notion de politique de la différence proposée par Young (1992) pour explorer les tensions qui surgissent dans les tentatives de différenciation dans le contexte principalement hégémonique et ethnocentrique du sport au Canada. Bien que l'assimilation, la séparation et la marginalisation aient été les principaux moyens d'acculturation des sports autochtones dans la société canadienne, on a sous-utilisé l'intégration. Par ailleurs, des recherches menées sur les Jeux Dénés lors des Jeux d'hiver 2004 de l'Arctique soulève la possibilité d'une forme d'intégration qui réponde à la fois aux besoins des participants, des organisateurs et des spectateurs.

"Sport expresses the context of culture in its existence and modifies the culture by its existence." (Felshin, 1974, p. 180)

The Arctic Winter Games (AWG) attempts to locate itself within a sporting/cultural community that is markedly different from the mainstream sporting community. While the Arctic Winter Games International Committee (AWGIC) and its policies are purported to ensure that the AWG take the form of a unique sporting/cultural festival, its drive towards a largely Southern model of sport renders such boundaries artificial and, at times, invisible. Berry's (2001) framework of acculturation strategies in ethnocultural groups and Young's (1992) politics of difference are useful in exploring the tensions involved in attempts at difference in the largely hegemonic, ethnocentric context provided by sport in Canada. While assimilation, separation, and marginalization have been the predominant methods through which Aboriginal sport has been acculturated into Canadian society, integration, which Berry identifies as being the most favourable intercultural strategy, has been under-utilized. However, research conducted at the Dene Games component of the 2004 AWG brings into question the possibility of a form of integration that is able to meet the needs of participants, organizers, and spectators alike. The recent addition of a Junior Women's category to the Dene Games at the AWG provides an intriguing case study of acculturation of not only physical practices but also culture-bound gender roles into mainstream sport. This change, which has been met with both acceptance and resistance, illustrates how the issue of girls' and women's participation in Dene Games is part of a multifaceted, ongoing struggle where Aboriginal groups are grappling for self-determination within a sport and recreation delivery system that has a heavily prescribed set of largely southern-derived policies and practices. This paper explores the Dene Games at the AWG and women's involvement in these Games through an acculturation lens, while concomitantly questioning the potential problems with attempts at integrating Dene Games into a mainstream framework.

The Cosmopolitan Community & the Politics of Difference

The rhetoric surrounding the AWG is one of cosmopolitanism, which Rabinow defines as "an ethos of macro-interdependencies, with an acute consciousness (often forced upon people) of the inescapabilities and particularities of places, characters, historical trajectories, and fates" (1986: 258). He further finds that "although we are all cosmopolitans, *Homo sapiens* have done rather poorly in interpreting this condition.

We seem to have trouble with the balancing act, preferring to reify local identities or construct universal ones. We live in-between" (Rabinow: 258). Indeed, despite the intentions of creating a cosmopolitan sporting community at the AWG, there is a general reluctance for Dene Games participants, and particularly organizers, to join such a community.

Despite the warm/fuzzy connotations of the word "community," Weiss reminds us to be cognizant of its danger, finding that communities can damage both those "within and those outside of them" (1995: 7). Certainly, the greatest dangers exist for those who live in the margins, which Kirby and McKenna describe as "the context in which those who suffer injustice, inequality and exploitation live their lives" (1989: 7). Danger exists for those in the margins because the urge to form a cohesive and unproblematic community can suffocate difference (Young, 1992). Rather than privileging the notion of community, Young instead calls for politics of difference, which she believes "lays down institutional and ideological means for recognizing and affirming differently identifying groups in two basic senses: giving political representation to group interests and celebrating the distinctive cultures and characteristics of different groups" (1992: 319). Within this framework there exists interesting possibilities for Dene Games at the AWG.

Acculturation

As Geertz notes, we live in a world where "it is increasingly difficult to get out of each other's way" (1988: 147). Not only do our bodies physically collide on busy city streets, but our ideologies often bump up against each other. The term "acculturation" refers to changes that result from contact between members of different cultural groups (Berry, 2001). Attitudes towards acculturation and residents of Canada's North have changed over time. According to Morrison,

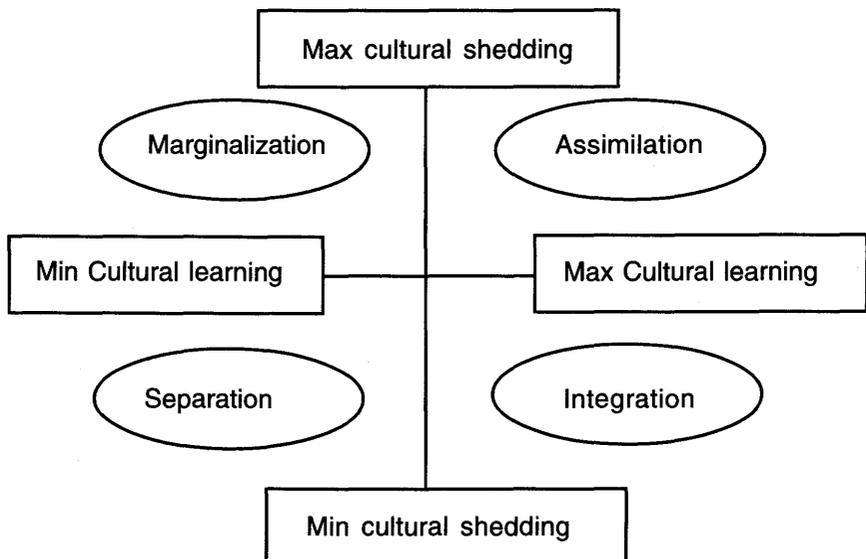
[b]efore 1940, the federal government had based its policy with respect to the Indians and, even more, the Inuit of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories on the position that the less their Indigenous way of life was interfered with, the better. According to the official view, it was impossible—and undesirable in any case—to integrate them into the wider Canadian society. (1998: 153)

However, this attitude changed with the development of an increasingly secular Euro-Canadian style education in the 1950s. Educational institutions, particularly residential schools, in the NWT—as in other parts of Canada—served as powerful tools in the acculturation of Indigenous peoples of the North. Forbidden from speaking their ancestral languages and transplanted vast distances from their homes, students in the NWT

were exposed to a culture vastly different from their own (Morrison, 1998). The infamous Trudeau government's assimilationist White Paper of 1968, which proposed the abolishment of Reserves and the widespread assimilation of Aboriginal peoples into Euro-Canadian mainstream society, shows just how far the pendulum swung away from the former position of non-interference. While education and official government policy provide strong examples of forays into various forms of acculturation, Dene Games, too, provide compelling examples.

Berry (2001) posits four different intercultural strategies used by ethnocultural groups: assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration. Each of these strategies utilizes differing amounts of what he refers to as cultural shedding and culture learning (Berry, 1992). In cultural shedding, the non-dominant ethnocultural group sheds its former practices, beliefs, and behaviours, while in cultural learning, the non-dominant group takes on the practices, beliefs, and behaviours of the dominant ethnocultural group.

Figure 1
Berry's (1992) Acculturation Framework



Assimilation occurs when there is maximal cultural shedding and maximal cultural learning, while the opposite—minimal cultural shedding and minimal cultural learning—results in separation. Marginalization, on the other hand, takes place when there is maximal culture shedding

combined with minimal cultural learning. Finally, integration involves moderate to substantial cultural learning along with minimal culture shedding.

Assimilation (Maximal Cultural Shedding and Maximal Cultural Learning)

Assimilation into mainstream sport can be seen in most, if not all, Aboriginal communities. In this age of globalization, children in the farthest corner of the arctic proudly sport NHL jerseys and baseball caps. Indeed, from sport clothing to sports themselves, acculturation in the form of assimilation can be seen with relative ease. In fact, it is far more common to see community members playing hockey and volleyball rather than snowsnake or finger pull. Assimilation can also be seen at the AWG. Held in the circumpolar region, the AWG mirror the Canada Games, a Southern Canadian multi-sport competition between provinces and the territories. The first AWG took place in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories in 1970, and, notably, included Indigenous sport as only a cultural adjunct to the Eurocanadian sport that operated as a meritocracy based on skill (Paraschak, 1997). Since its humble beginnings, the Arctic Winter Games have grown. Teams from Nunavut, Nunavik, Northern Alberta, Greenland, several Russian provinces, and the Saami now join the three original teams of NWT, Yukon, and Alaska. Every two years, over 1,500 athletes take part in the Games, which stress athletic competition, cultural exhibition, and social exchange. These philosophical tenets are supported through both sporting and cultural events. Despite the inclusion of Arctic Sports (also known as Inuit Games) and Dene Games, low levels of Aboriginal participants prevail (Paraschak, 1997) and, as a result, the extent to which assimilation can be said to take place is questionable. Nevertheless, the low level of Aboriginal participation and high numbers of Southern-derived sporting activities are only two of the ways in which the AWG mirror any other Southern mainstream sport festival.

From the lighting of the flame to medal ceremonies with National anthems, the AWG are, in many ways, identical to Southern-based sporting festivals. While the cultural aspects of the AWG are often used to support the notion that the Games are indeed uniquely Northern, the cultural aspects are often marginalized, with the cultural contingent for each team rarely consisting of more than a handful of performers, in contrast to the hundreds of athletes that each team is invited to bring to the Games. In fact, the 2002 Games were the first to spend as much on the cultural events as on the sporting events. However, it is typically only those sporting activities and their athletes that reside comfortably within (or are assimilated into) the mainstream sport system that are

viewed as *legitimate sport/athletes*, with those activities that are characteristically associated with non-Eurocanadian groups instead being seen as *cultural events/performers* (Paraschak, 1983). Thus, Dene Games and Arctic Sports tend to be considered as some combination of legitimate sport and cultural display, resulting in implications that will be discussed below.

Another way of examining assimilation is in terms of gender roles and participation in the Dene Games. As gender, like culture, is a social construct, we are able to examine changes in gender roles by using Berry's (2001) acculturation framework. In the past, Dene girls and women in the NWT rarely participated as athletes in most traditional games, and instead participated by teaching and supporting competitors and/or crafting equipment (Giles, 2004; Heine, 1999). This practice was reflected in the fact that until 2002 the only available category for competition in the Dene Games was for Open Men (i.e., men over the age of 18). However, at the 2002 AWG a Junior Men's category was added. Then, after gaining support from the Yukon and Alaska, the NWT's proposal to have a Junior Women's category added to the Games was approved by the AWGIC and a Junior Women's category came to fruition at the 2004 Games (I. Legaree, personal communication, May 16, 2003).

Pressure for the creation of the Junior Women's category came from a number of places. Girls and women compete in Dene Games far more frequently in the Yukon and Alaska than they do in the NWT and, as such, these contingents had a strong interest in opening the AWG experience to their female athletes (B. Walker, personal communication, March 3, 2004). The NWT-based Mackenzie Recreation Association also appealed to the AWGIC to have a category for girls (MRA minutes, 2001, p. 23). Finally, pressure in less visible forms stemming from the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Government of Canada, 2001) and general gender equity practices cannot be ruled out as playing large, though perhaps less public, roles in the addition of a category for girls.

The addition of women to 2004 Dene Games to the AWG in an "add women and stir" manner created some difficulties for participants and organizers alike. Prior to the Games, most of the female participants had had limited exposure to opportunities to practice their skills in the five events that comprise the Dene Games: snowsnake, pole push, stick pull, finger pull, and hand games. A lack of familiarity with the rules of these events resulted in an *ad hoc* change in the competition schedule so as to allow the Open Men's category to compete first, thus providing both Junior categories with opportunities to see how the events are intended to be contested. Many participants commented on the importance of role modeling in Dene Games, and viewed it as the most com-

elling reason for the continued existence of the Open Men's category (notably, only Arctic Sports and Dene Games still have adult categories at the AWG, as adult categories were removed from all other sports in previous years). Indeed, it appeared that the Junior competitors did gain valuable insight into techniques and culturally appropriate behaviours (such as shaking hands prior to and after competing). While role modeling certainly has its benefits, one might ask about the lack of female role models for the Junior Women. Research findings (e.g., Gould & Weiss, 1981) indicate that role modeling is more successful if the person modeling the behaviour/action is similar to the learner. Gender is one category in which similarities may prove compelling. For example, members of Junior Women's team competing for the NWT in Dene Games reported that they felt as though Dene Games were "a guy thing" and that having Open Women competitors would provide them with positive female role models (personal communication, March 1st, 2004).

The addition of young women into the Dene Games certainly has its opponents. An example of this resistance was manifested at the NWT Territorial Trials for Dene Games, which were held in Dettah, NWT. Though there appeared to be no demeaning or derogatory behaviour towards female competitors, nor any vocal opposition to their participation, an article in *News/North*, which appeared shortly after the event, quoted organizer Bobby Drygeese as saying that some Elders were upset with the fact that girls were participating in Dene Games (Scott, 2004). Furthermore, while the overall attitude towards the girls' participation in the Dene Games at the AWG themselves outwardly appeared to be overwhelmingly positive, there were those who felt differently. For instance, in Janvier, Alberta, the location of the stick pull event for the 2004 AWG, one spectator commented that, based on tradition, girls should not be participating in the events, and that women spectators should not even be sitting as close as they were to the competitors (Anonymous, personal communication, March 3, 2003). However, this perspective can be juxtaposed with the words of another spectator. The officials had commented that stick pull emerged as a winter game because it was a way for men to train for pulling fish out of the water. One women spectator said succinctly, "women would have pulled the damn fish out of the water, too" (Anonymous, personal communication, March 3, 2003).

Disagreement also arose when the topic of girls drumming for hand games was broached at a coaches meeting at the AWGs. After some discussion, it was decided that girls would not be permitted to drum, as the owners of the drums did not want girls to come into contact with them, believing that it could have a negative impact on those to whom the drums belonged. This decision was met with the following responses

from the Junior Girls from Team NWT: One believed that the decision was "sexist," another commented that the decision was "bad" and that "they should let us try," while another one said that the decision "sucked" (personal communications, March 5, 2003). Thus, different understandings of Dene traditions—for example, if the job of pulling fish out of the water would have been an exclusively male pursuit—leads to different understandings of just who should be participating, and in what fashion, in Dene Games and, thus, how closely the Dene Games at the AWG should reflect mainstream Eurocanadian sport.

Separation (Minimum Cultural Learning, Minimum Cultural Shedding)

An example of separation—as well as another example of opposition to women's involvement in Dene Games—can be found in the Denendeh Traditional Games Association's (DTGA) efforts to create a Territorial Sport Organization (TSO) of sorts for Dene Games (Kay, 2002). The multi-community Mackenzie Regional Dene Games has had a twenty-five year history in the NWT, yet during this period of time, and despite the entrenched support of and organization for these Games, a TSO for Dene Games has not emerged. In 2002, the DTGA attempted to form a TSO outside of the Territorial Sport Federation's (Sport North) and the Aboriginal Sport Circle of the Western Arctic's frameworks, as it felt that these organizations were unable to meet its needs. However, the DTGA encountered some stumbling blocks when it announced that, based on the notion that women did not play Dene Games in the past, they would not support women's involvement in Dene Games. Viewed by the Government of the NWT as holding a position that ran counter to the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the DTGA's attempt to form something similar to a TSO ran aground.

Analogies between the DTGA and the early growing pains of the Northern Games exist and are informative. The Northern Games is an Inuit cultural/sporting festival that was established in July of 1970 in response and resistance to the Arctic Winter Games (Paraschak, 1997). The Northern Games incorporated aspects of traditional Inuit games into a "[E]urocanadian-derived concept of a trans-Arctic festival in order to help create this emergent festival" (Paraschak, 1997: 12). Despite the heavy Eurocanadian influence on its structure, many federal government officials chose to view the Northern Games as more of a cultural event than a sporting event, and thus showed reluctance to help to fund the Games through sport funding programs. In response, the Northern Games Association stated, "sports in the south also are cultural events with a different purpose (i.e., a winning purpose in a win-oriented culture). Must

we buy this ethic to be funded" (Northern Games Association cited in Paraschak, 1997: 12)?

Perhaps tired of the proliferation of Southern-derived sport, the Northern Games Association felt that the only way that it would be able to find a home in a sporting/cultural festival that would suit their needs was to create a unique one of their own. The Northern Games philosophy encourages participation over excellence and an atmosphere of camaraderie and self-testing rather than competitive equality (Paraschak, 1997). While competition is not the driving force, neither is time – the event schedule serves as only a rough guide. Though some aspects of the Northern Games differ markedly from mainstream Southern sport, rationalization, bureaucratization, standardization, and quantification (Guttmann, 1978) have all become increasingly prevalent in the Northern Games. Indeed, in some ways the Northern Games have also come to mirror the Southern-derived events that they originally abhorred.

Both the Dene Games and the Northern Games have struggled to find their own space in the landscape of sport and recreation in the North. Sometimes viewed as culture, sometimes viewed as sport, sometimes viewed as little more than curiosities, the desire to remain separate from mainstream sporting festivals is understandable. However, that separation makes integration into the AWG framework difficult. Dene Games enthusiasts have steadfastly pointed out that they are not Arctic Sports. A past AWG participant spoke of feelings of frustration when they received medals for competing in Dene Games that were inscribed with "Arctic Sports" on the back (B. Walker, personal communication, March 3, 2004). Vehemently resisting an identity as Arctic Sports and also as mainstream sport, Dene Games have had to etch out a space in which to exist and, perhaps most problematically, grow.

In the past, Dene Games were far more spontaneous and far less codified. With their growth, Dene Games have had to endure forms of standardization in order to allow for uniform competition at the AWG. Nevertheless, Dene Games separate themselves from AWG sports in many ways, including rejecting the term "sport," and also by adapting rules in an *ad hoc* fashion in order to better reflect the practices of the Aboriginal groups who are hosting the event or to meet the needs of competitors or officials. Difficulties emerge, however, when differing opinions exist between the way the manual/technical package describes a rule and interpretations of the way the games were played in the past. For example, several officials at the 2004 NWT Territorial trials for Dene Games commented unfavourably on what they perceived to be the large number of protests that were filed (personal communications, January 31, 2003). These officials suggested that an air of collegiality and amica-

bility was more appropriate than the confrontation and hostility that pervade many Eurocanadian sports.

Marginalization² (Minimal Cultural Learning, Maximal Cultural Shedding)

In attempting to remain distinct from AWG sports, Dene Games officials and organizers have stressed the need for cooperation between teams, flexibility in interpretations of the technical package, and the desire for a distinct culture around the Dene Games. Nevertheless, difference is not always appreciated. During the finger pull competition at the 2004 Games, several spectators walked out of the Keyano College theatre venue shaking their heads at how hard it was to watch the relatively small, often partially hidden, event. In their minds, the event was not spectator-friendly and, as a result, they left. However, amid these comments, officials and coaches expressed their own concerns about the venue. "We're not a spectacle," said one official, who did not appreciate having the competitors and officials up on a stage under the glare of bright theatre lights in an attempt to make the event more spectator friendly (Anonymous, field notes, March 5, 2003). Thus, the spectators' call for a spectacle and the organizers' unwillingness to put one on serves as an example of how attempts at separation can, unfortunately, lead to marginalization.

Concerns around the potential marginalization of girls' involvement in the Dene Games appeared to be, for the most part, unfounded. While there were very few spectators at the Junior Girls' snowsnake event, the fact that the event took place at the end of a long day of competition and was coupled with cool temperatures was likely the reason for the sparse crowd rather than lack of interest. Women's involvement, on the other hand, could be viewed differently. Most of the officials and organizers with whom I spoke felt that it was appropriate to add a Junior Women's category prior to an Open Women's category to allow for the gradual growth of the Games. However, in light of the fact that an Open Women's category could provide role modeling—and the Open Men's role modeling is used time and again as a reason why that category simply cannot be eliminated—for young girls as well as a training ground for Dene Games coaches, it seems unusual that no Open Women's category exists. Some individuals have pointed to the problems that are experienced with some Open Men's category participants on a consistent basis—intoxication and curfew violations—as reasons why an Open Women's category has not yet been added: as all Open categories might be abolished by the AWGIC, why add a category only to have it taken away? This line of reasoning results in women being punished for the

actions of a few men and the marginalization of potential Open Women competitors. Many of the Junior Women who participated in the Dene Games called for the addition of an Open Women's category, stating that it was "unfair" not to have one. Many male participants, too, called for the addition of an Open Women's category, with one coach saying that Dene Games are a family and that the family needs to get bigger (B. Walker, personal communication, March 3, 2003).

The fact that young women at the AWG compete in what have typically been viewed as male events can also be viewed as marginalizing games that Dene women did play in the past, such as games involving moosehide balls. As noted above, opposition to women's involvement in Dene Games remains. Women who are unwilling to shed their traditional beliefs and compete in what they view as men's games are relegated to the sidelines. Attempts to include games in which women were typically participants might help to appease those who object to women's participation in, for example, hand games. However, regional differences in gender-based participation, as well as the fact that some women would feel marginalized if they were prohibited from participating in the current games that comprise the Dene Games, points to the fact that there is no easy solution to this matter.

Integration (Moderate To Substantial Cultural Learning Along With Minimal Culture Shedding)

Integration has been identified as the most favourable strategy for acculturation (Berry, 2001). Kalin and Berry (1995), however, identified four pre-existing conditions necessary for integration: "the widespread acceptance of the value to society of cultural diversity...; relatively low levels of prejudice...; positive mutual attitudes among ethnocultural groups...; and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all individuals and groups" (Berry, 2001: 5). Despite the multicultural, cosmopolitan rhetoric that pervades race discourse in Canada, these conditions remain a utopia³, with the AWG and the sport and recreation system in the NWT being no exception.

While Dene Games have been a part of the AWG since 1990, they remain on the periphery of sport and recreation in the NWT. In fact, many AWG participants reported that they only play Dene Games for Regional Trials, Territorial Trials, and the AWG, with few opportunities to practice their skills in recreation or physical education programs in their communities. Thus, though Dene Games have been integrated into the AWG, the integration remains partial at best, with participants, officials and organizers struggling to create Dene Games that they feel reflect their culture, yet also fit the parameters of a multi-sport spectacle. Integra-

tion into the larger sport and recreation field in the NWT still remains elusive. Without a TSO, the Dene Games will likely continue to struggle for legitimacy, and quite possibly funding, within the NWT sporting community.

Integration in Dene Games needs to be examined through a bi-directional lens. While attempts have been made to integrate the Dene Games into the predominantly Eurocanadian-centric AWG, non-Aboriginal athletes are now participating in Dene Games. Attempts at integration into Aboriginal physical practices have been seen in other areas. In his text, *Playing Indian*, Deloria (1998) describes the activities of self-proclaimed Indian lore hobbyists, individuals who, in the 1960s, would come together for weekend gatherings where they would "wear Indian costumes, sing and dance Indian, and trade" (Powers cited in Deloria, 1998: 128). The response to these hobbyists who blurred ethnic and social boundaries was mixed. Conklin quotes one powwow dancer as stating, "we didn't know what to call our White brothers. We didn't know whether to call them White boys or hobbyists" (1994: 19). The integration of non-Aboriginals into Dene Games has also had some mixed results. Some non-Aboriginal participants in the 2004 Dene Games were labeled "freaks" (Anonymous, personal communication, March 2, 2003) by members of Team NWT for what NWT team members described as inappropriate behaviour. This behaviour included but was not limited to: shirtless participation in snowsnake (where it was well below freezing), grunting, cheering, and winking at the crowd in what was considered to be a showboating manner. While this behaviour drew laughter, it also drew criticism from at least one official, who mentioned that such behaviour was unbecoming and was inconsistent with the usual tone of Dene Games (Anonymous, personal communication, March 4, 2004). In addition, the distinctively cultural aspects of Dene Games led to one Inuvialuit member of Team NWT confess that he felt "out of place" playing Dene Games as a non-Dene person, yet he reported that he still enjoyed playing the games.

Yet another indication of the difficulties associated with attempts at integration can be seen in a motion made at the 2003 Dene National Assembly. In a motion that was carried unanimously, the Dene Nation resolved that "any and all NWT groups wanting to implement Dene games must get the approval of the Dene people before doing so; and that the [Government of the NWT] and its affiliates formally recognize and acknowledge the [Denendeh Traditional Games] Association" (Dene Nation online, July 1, 2004). Thus, in its attempt at integration into the sport and recreation delivery system, the Dene Nation views gaining control over the development and implementation of Dene Games as impera-

tive. Nevertheless, such a move might be viewed as segregationist by some GNWT and Sport North officials, who might feel that a sign of the full integration of Dene Games would result in it being controlled and administered in the same fashion as other sports and recreational activities in the NWT. Hence, the integration of Dene and non-Dene peoples and, as mentioned earlier, women, into the Dene Games, which are themselves struggling to integrate into the AWG and the sport and recreation delivery system in the NWT, creates points of friction.

Conclusions

The new Canadian Sport Policy (Government of Canada, 2002a) and the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Priorities for Collaborative Action 2002-2005 (Government of Canada, 2002b) suggest that barriers to Aboriginal peoples' participation in sport and recreation need to be identified and addressed. However, what this research demonstrates is that sport and recreation are microcosms of larger societal issues, such as racism, sexism, and the struggle for Aboriginal self-determination.

The Dene Games portion of the AWG and women's participation in these Games do not map neatly onto just one corner of Berry's (2001) acculturation matrix; instead, they leave no corner untouched. Attempts to address barriers thus become all the more difficult. Perhaps the most logical starting point to facilitate a form of integration that would satisfy the greatest number of people is to revisit the preconditions that Kalin and Berry (1995) identified as being necessary for integration: "the widespread acceptance of the value to society of cultural diversity...; relatively low levels of prejudice...; positive mutual attitudes among ethno-cultural groups...; and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all individuals and groups" (Berry, 2001: 5). Indeed, Berry points out that "[integration can only be 'freely' chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity" (2001: 4). Finally, Berry notes that integration "can only be pursued in societies that are explicitly multicultural" (2001: 5). While Canada purports to be an explicitly multicultural country,⁴ the examples provided above draw the reality of multiculturalism and thus the possibility of integration into question.

Nevertheless, ways in which integration might be fostered through sport can still be explored. Education and exposure⁵ are two ways in which integration can start to be achieved. While Heine's (1999) Dene Games manual is a valuable tool for teaching Dene Games in the school system, it alone is not enough. Teaching Dene Games is not as simple as teaching basketball, where a ball is readily available in the school's

supply cupboard and both the teacher and the students already have a fairly good grasp of the basics of the game. In the education system, it appears that Dene Games have to negotiate the culture/sport divide, with teachers having to decide if Dene Games should be taught as part of the cultural curriculum (e.g., *Dene Kede*⁶) or as part of the physical education curriculum. If the teacher is not from the area, s/he would first have to familiarize him/herself with the Games, determine which Elders it would be appropriate to consult concerning playing the Games in the school (i.e., if boys and girls can both play, if they can play against each other, if the Games should be played at all), make or obtain the necessary equipment, likely bring in a paid local expert (and thus secure funding) to facilitate teaching the Games, and then, finally, the Games can be taught. The multitudes of hoops through which teachers have to jump make it difficult for already overburdened educators to have Dene Games as part of the curriculum, while the politically charged climate surrounding a typically Eurocanadian teacher teaching Dene Games makes some teachers uneasy. In-service training for physical education teachers and the provision of local experts by the school boards would help to eliminate at least some of these barriers. With a greater number of participants, a Territorial Dene Games School Championships would be possible. In-service training for recreation providers—who face similar constraints as their physical education colleagues—would also be beneficial. As a result of these efforts, education, exposure, and greater levels of participation would all be achieved.

There are, of course, limitations to this application of Berry's (2001) framework. Not all individuals privilege race over other characteristics, such as sexual orientation or gender, and not all individuals acculturate in the same way. Indeed, Berry himself found differences between group and individual acculturation. So how do we go about cultivating a politics of difference and cosmopolitanism for sport in Canada? Young (1992) suggests that the unoppressive city offers a model of "social relations without domination in which persons live together in relations of mediation among strangers with whom they are not in community" (p. 303). She implores that

[w]hatever the label, the concept of social relations that embody openness to unassimilated otherness with justice and appreciation needs to be developed. Radical politics, moreover, must develop discourse and institutions for bringing differently identified groups together without suppressing or subsuming the difference. (1992: 320)

In short, she calls for the integration that Berry (2001) favours – an integration that we can recall relies upon pre-existing factors that cur-

rently do not exist within the Canadian sport and recreation system, and within Canada as a whole. To facilitate a politics of difference and favourable models of integration, sport/games/cultural groups who do not identify with mainstream sport must be given greater funding to develop their sports/games in ways that they see fit, and, above all, must be granted representation and consideration on local, national and international levels. As mentioned above, school curricula need to be more inclusive of non-mainstream sporting activities, while sport participants and organizers also need to make room for and accept difference. Instead of feeling threatened by non-mainstream physical practices, sport participants and organizers alike need to recognize that sport can be a positive way of celebrating differently identifying groups.

Notes

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2. Within this section, the term marginalization will be treated in two fashions: as the Concise Oxford Dictionary (Thompson, 1995) describes the term – "make or treat as insignificant" (p. 833), and as Berry (2001) outlines it – minimal cultural learning and maximal cultural shedding involving "little possibility...[of] cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination." (p. 2.4)
3. Canadians consistently place First Nations members on one of the lowest rungs of the ethnic hierarchy, which is a ranking of the com-

- fort level individuals have when in the presence of various ethnic groups, *despite* a lack of significant contact with them (Berry, 1998).
4. The 1971 Multiculturalism Policy of Canada purported to confirm the rights of Aboriginal peoples and the status of Canada's two official languages. In 1988, the Canadian Parliament passed *The Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, an Act that recognizes multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society.
 5. According to the contact hypothesis, encounters that involve equal numbers from each side, that are mutually rewarding and pleasant, and that involve a goal which requires interdependent and cooperative action, will foster more amicable feeling between parties. (Alcock, Carment, and Sadava, 1998),
 6. *Dene Kede* is the title of the culture-based education program developed by the Department of Education, Culture, and Employment for students residing in Dene communities in the NWT.

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